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ABSTRACT

This document includes the proposal and implementation of a study focusing on the family's expectations, orientations, and cultural practices with regard to the educational system and the system's expectations, orientations and practices concerning the child and his family. The basic problem in this exploratory study is to describe analytically the socialization system of families and schools in a community with substantial numbers of blacks and whites including Puerto Rican Americans point to congruity, ambiguity and difference in family and school socialization patterns and expectations; offer explanations of "why" these differences, indicating factors that influence their form and intensity; explore the impact of school-family experiences upon the socialization patterns of the family and describe techniques used by teachers and especially parents to handle and resolve such school-family discordancies and conflicts. The study population was obtained by including all potential black and Puerto Rican students in nine elementary schools in Lorain, Ohio, and randomly selected white students when needed. The final sample represented combinations of the following variables: cultural/racial group (black, Puerto Rican, white); class (working, middle), and family structure (intact--single or dual career, single parent). (Author/JM)

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Table of Contents

1. Problem 1

2. Related Research 2

3. Objectives 4

4. Procedures 5

a) General design 5

b) Sample 7

Community setting 7

Sample selection 8

c) Data 9

d) Analysis 15

e) Future research 15

f) Time schedule 17

5. Project Staff 18

Professional qualifications 19

6. Existing Facilities and Resources 20

7. Financing 20

8. Dissemination and Utilization Plan 20

Bibliography 22

Appendices

A. Letter of support, Lorain School System

B. Vitae of principal personnel

UD 015 047

ED105055

UD 015047

Family-School Socialization: Problems and Prospects

1. Problem

The school and family are two basic socialization systems for the child. Endemic to the linkage between them are varying degrees of discrepant expectations between parents and teachers which can result in ambiguous and conflicting socialization modes and potential victimization of the child. Becoming a pawn in a conflict between two systems with varying goals, normative patterns, and structures does not bode well for the development of the child's competence, personality and social growth.

The basic problem is to describe analytically in an exploratory study the socialization systems of families and schools in a community with substantial numbers of blacks and whites including Puerto Rican Americans; point to congruity ambiguity and difference in socialization patterns and expectations; offer explanations of "why" these differences and indicating factors influencing their form and intensity; and describe techniques used by teachers and especially parents to "handle" and resolve such school-family discordancies and conflicts. The aim of the study is to develop hypotheses for additional testing.

Information resulting from the mapping of socialization systems in contention; and the variations in perceptions and expectations of parents and teachers for the goals and means of socialization have numerous research, policy and program implications. Do such discontinuities make a difference for the child, parents, and school surrogates? Are differences so irreconcilable that adoption of one socialization mode precludes consideration of the other? Do minority children have to "go the way" of the school in order to make it and at what cost to the family's ideological posture, life style and stability? Is the school developing some flexibility in social relationships, educational relevance and options in response to the client rebellion, and equal rights movement without tarnishing and diluting its educational mission? The relevance rather than answers to these questions is one outcome of this pilot study. Determining the strength and extent of school-family discordancies and their bases should provide guidelines for the formulation of hypotheses in basic longitudinal research concerned with consequences, especially for the child, and action research involved with introduction of interventions in the pre- or early post-school-entry period, e.g., parent-teacher "intergroup relations" training.

There is scant information on how children and their families influence the values and behavior of teachers. This study should begin to indicate from collected data the ways role resocialization occurs and the conditions under which such experience increases tolerance for differences and sensitivity to family subcultural values, norms and behavior. Establishing the patterns, mechanisms, processes and outcomes of role resocialization is intended in a longitudinal study. Changes in the teacher's perception and role may increase ultimately the possibilities of programs of mutual assistance between the school and the family.

Few researchers have been concerned with the interaction between the teacher, the child and his family with respect to the way expectations for the

child are communicated. Much of the previous research on teacher expectancy has been concerned with the child-teacher relationship (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968; Elashoff and Snow, 1971; Fleming and Anttonen, 1971) with the family given little attention in its socialization role. This research emphases that the family should be included in studies of this kind.

Finally, President Nixon in his fourth of a series of State of the Nation addresses on February 24, 1973, stated his concern "to insure that all of our people are provided with a decent income under circumstances that will increase human dignity rather than erode such basic values as the family structure and the dignity of work." It follows that families may be able to sustain their family structure with self-esteem if they develop competence to handle demands made by organizations and institutions in the society such as the school.

This study will describe some of the means used by various types of families in order to meet school demands. Developing interpersonal skills and self-help organizations are two such techniques. We know very little of the negative or positive consequences of competence level or development. We hypothesize that families who have "high organizational handling" competencies will experience less disruption of their internal role structure, value system, and social control pattern and children will have fewer identification problems. In this pilot study we will not test this hypothesis but rather establish the viability of this and similar ones for further longitudinal study.

2. Related Research

School is, after the family, the major socialization agent for children. The school through its major socializing agent, the teacher, introduces the child to the socially expected behaviors (roles) and attitudes of his culture. However, the child's family subculture and the culture into which the school tries to socialize him may not be the same. Often, the two cultures have been viewed not as different but as inferior (the child's) and superior (the school's). While researchers such as Riessman (1962) and Fantini and Weinstein (1968) have spoken out against alienating the child from his culture, many "enrichment" programs have been designed to modify the behavior and values of the "culturally deprived" child rather than to accommodate the culturally different child. While increasingly teachers come from non-middle class backgrounds (Charter, 1963), it would be expected that they would espouse middle class values and view middle class students more favorably (Becker, 1952; Stebbins, 1970).

Occupational mobility has been emphasized as a goal of education both by teachers and researchers and is often assumed by them to be what parents want for their children (St. John, 1972; Kahl, 1953). The goal of schooling for many in the educational establishment is a college degree and beyond, and ultimately a white-collar job for every child. While it cannot be denied that many parents do hope for such goals for their children, for other parents the goals differ. Some instead want their child to be well-behaved, learn enough to obtain a steady job, and as an adult remain part of the kin group (Gans, 1962). If the child becomes a white-collar worker, he may be "lost" to the family. While the conflict between school and the family has been outlined (Fantini and Weinstein, 1968), little effort has been made to understand how, if at all, the two systems may become accommodated to one another.

Because many adults in black and Puerto Rican families have little education and often hold unskilled jobs, the inference has been made that all such families are "lower class." Conclusions regarding class have been overgeneralized and have often ignored subcultural differences. In addition, families in which both parents are present and employed on a full-time basis in semiskilled or unskilled jobs are different from the single-parent family, the family on welfare, or the family in which the parents are underemployed. Although researchers recognize distinctions in subcultures and family and work patterns, survey researchers often do not (St. John, 1971; Coleman, 1966; Herriott and St. John, 1966; Sexton, 1961). Using field interviews it would be useful to examine variations in expectations and other socialization practices within social classes, subcultures, and family patterns as well as between these groups.

Compared to the variety of information about other minority groups relatively little is known about the Puerto Rican migrant (for exceptions see Sexton, 1961; Rogler, 1972). Furthermore, little emphasis has been placed on the difficulties Puerto Rican children have in adjusting to the mainland school system despite the indication of researchers such as Coleman (1966) and Zirkel and Moses (1971) that these children do have special learning difficulties because of language.

For black families there is a need to explicate the specific roles of parents in a family system where there is construed to be "statistical evidence" to support the notion that matriarchy is a cultural trait of black families (Clark, 1965; Moynihan, 1965; Rainwater, 1970). The deficit model whereby the black family has been characterized as a classical example of pathology or disorganization has been a most unfortunate stereotyping with serious sociopolitical consequences, e.g., programs of uplift which imply behavioral modification to normative patterns rather than building on concerns, strengths, and styles of black families. A few scholars have echoed this theme (Billingsley, 1968; Staples, 1971; Willie, 1970). This study can provide some data on coping and adaptation patterns of black families in relation to the school and how this compares with Puerto Ricans and other non-blacks.

The key theoretical concepts to be used in this research are socialization and linkage: the relationship of bureaucratic organizations and the primary group (Sussman, 1969). The family is viewed as an ongoing entity that has prepared, with greater or lesser success, its oldest child for entry into school. This pre-school socialization process has occurred within the context of the family's social class, religion, race, and nationality. It is even further complicated by variability in family forms; some families have traditional nuclear form in which the father works and the mother stays home; others are single-parent families in which the mother is unmarried or divorced; and still others are dual-career families in which both parents work or are families which include several generations living together and sharing the socialization of the children (Sussman, 1971).

Such subcultural variations, therefore, produce a situation in which children enter school with a variety of values, orientations, and expectations; these may or may not be congruent with those of the school. Once the children enter the school system subcultural differences in achievement and test scores become greater, widening year by year (Coleman, 1966; Jencks, 1972). A variety of reasons has been postulated for this phenomenon: teachers may stereotype

children and, therefore, create a self-fulfilling prophecy of difference in performance (Elashoff and Snow, 1971). Other possibilities suggested by some investigators include inappropriate curriculum (Passow, 1967; Goldberg, 1967); segregation in the school system may be the cause (Coleman, 1966); differences in school expenditures may create inequities (Sexton, 1961); and family background may influence the child's performance to such an extent that the school cannot be effective (Jencks, 1972).

In the present study the focus is on the family's expectations, orientations, and cultural practices with regard to the educational system and the system's expectations, orientations and practices concerning the child and his family--that is, the linkage between the two. The emphasis here is on the interaction between the family and the school and the potential influence this has on the child's progress through the school.

In conceptualizing a linkage between bureaucratic organizations and primary groups it is recognized that this relationship involves some form of exchange or bargaining in which there are continuous efforts to dominate the relationship parallel with the need to stabilize the interaction. Research on linkage to date has employed a theoretical framework which focuses on the needs, capabilities, and postures of bureaucratic organizations, how these may be satisfied, enhanced and maintained in dealing with other organizations or primary groups such as families.

One such piece of research (Litwak and Meyers, 1965) of Detroit families and schools is concerned largely with mechanisms and strategies used by school functionaries to "control" families. One shift from this superordinate (school)-subordinate (family) model in our perspective is that the family is viewed as being capable of influencing as well as being influenced by the school. The family may modify the school's socialization process by providing alternative socialization experiences within the home or by making demands on the school for changes. In turn, the family's own pattern of developing the roles of its children may be influenced by the school because of new ways of doing things introduced into the home by the child or through parent contacts with the school through conferences and meetings.

3. Objectives

a) To determine differences in educational expectations of the school and families of different characteristics and structures for the child. How do the school and family communicate these expectations to one another?

b) To describe how parents react to their children as the latter come under increasing control of the school's socialization system in major areas of role functioning such as behavioral control, health practices, skill acquisition, and leisure uses.

c) To illustrate how parents handle "conflicts" between their own and the schools's socialization methods.

Two related objectives, one derived from the data collected in this pilot study and a second, essential to the prospects of further longitudinal studies with families and schools, are:

d) To formulate hypotheses based on findings of objectives a, b, c regarding changes in family/school expectations for the child in relation to gender, motivation, performance, family type and other characteristics; changes in role functioning patterns in home as a consequence of school socialization by family type, ethnic and racial characteristics, socio-economic status and other parameters; and predictors of conflict or congruence between school and family over socialization methods.

e) To determine the best ethical research administration model which will involve families in the design and implementation of long-term research; provide varied rewards for continuous involvement; be concerned with the family's privacy; freedom from exploitation and abuse; the promulgation of trust over deceit; maintaining the confidentiality of data; establishing a contract of informed consent which provides for the "rights" of families; estimating the risks of intervention (change and insight) and its consequences for family relationships; and providing follow-up information and other forms of assistance to families in the longitudinal research.

4. Procedures

a) General Design

Descriptive analysis of exposure of two fundamentally different socialization systems to one another and behavioral, attitudinal, and perceptual consequences for parents, child and teacher requires a design circumscribed by the dimension of time and under conditions which maximize all possible behavioral, attitudinal, and perceptual options as a consequence of such initial exposure and contact. Data should be collected within a very short time period in order to establish the consequences of impact-congruity of expectations and mechanisms for handling such disparities.

The conditions of this proposed one-year study are:

1) The population to be studied will be limited to first-born children of families who have been enrolled for first grade in the spring of 1974. The parents, children and their teachers and school counselors (if present) are the participants in the study. The parents and teachers will be interviewed; the children will be observed in the classroom and assessed through the school system's regular testing procedure.

2) This mapping is, in effect, a case history of exposure, contact, and interaction of particular socialization systems involving many actors. Analysis should provide data for hypotheses regarding the consequences for the young child's intellectual and social development, obviously socialization issues which require a longitudinal design.

3) The families in the study will be classified according to ethnic and racial backgrounds, socio-economic status and family structure. This

taxonomic analysis will provide for the specification of independent variables and the presentation of hypotheses. A major ethnic group represented in this proposed study is the Puerto Rican. There is little research on the Puerto Rican child's adjustment to the school system (Chapman, 1972; Lazar, 1972). Here the general problem of sub-cultural differences in educational expectations is made even more difficult because of the child's language difficulties in the school system.

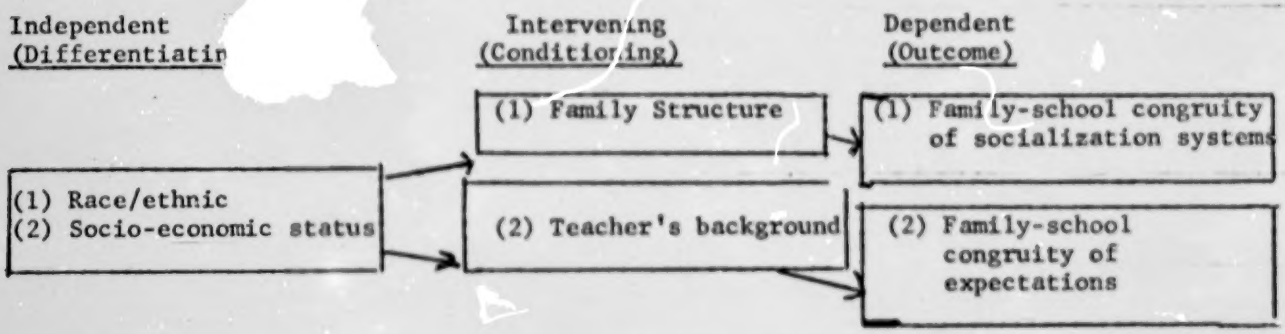
4) A one-year project can best be viewed as primarily for conceptual development and hypothesis formulation especially on issues having time-related outcomes such as the consequences for the child of conflict over socialization goals and procedures. While some youngsters may demonstrate deficits in learning ability and social competence immediately after entry into school, the power of the explanation of causality or association increases as one can measure over time the strength of the stimuli and account for variations in response thresholds. Preliminary to a study of outcomes and processes, however, it is possible to test relationships between independent and dependent variables.

A general hypothesis is that social class, ethnic and racial backgrounds explain variations in family-school congruity over child socialization goals and processes. Family structure and background of the teachers are intervening variables. Family structure may be defined in terms of participants in a primary group network who perform domestic functions and live in the same household, a likely but not necessary condition. An improved version of an already developed taxonomy of family structures will be used (Sussman, 1971). The study focus will be on three types of families drawn from the taxonomy: first, the nuclear family, husband, wife and offspring living in a common household ("intact," usually a first marriage) with a single career, generally for the husband. Second, a nuclear family with a dual-career pattern where both parents are gainfully employed. The third family form will be the single-parent family - one head, as a consequence of divorce, abandonment, or separation (with financial aid rarely coming from the second parent), and usually including pre-school and/or school age children. This family form may actually be combined with a three-generation family or kin network, nuclear households or unmarried members living in close geographical proximity and operating within a reciprocal system of exchange of goods and services.

The significance of family structure as an intervening variable is the differential exposure to heterogeneous contacts as a consequence of experience in different family structures. The parents, especially the mother who is in a homemaker over a "working wife" role, may have less experience with bureaucratic organizations and concomitant greater discrepancies in perception than the work experienced mother of what the school is "doing to her child." The divorced or separated mother who is residing with parents is influenced in her socialization stance by the inputs of members of her kin network, as is often found among Puerto Rican and other ethnic minorities, is in a relatively homogeneous culture which provides ideological support and in-group identification for the particular socialization pattern.

The value system of the teacher and concomitant perceptions of minority and varied structural families in part determined by her training, and education and in part by her racial and cultural heritage is another intervening variable. The teacher's sensitivity to differential family socialization systems and behaviors appropriate to these variations can mitigate differences between family and school expectations and the formal demands of both groups. For instance, teachers who know and understand Puerto Rican or black families may become "help" sources, sought for advice and counsel.

Schematica[illegible]e general design of independent, intervening (or conditioning) and d[illegible] variables is:



The arrows of the diagram signify the more powerful relationships. We would expect family structure more than the teacher's background to influence strongly the level of congruity between the family's and school's socialization systems. On the other hand, it is hypothesized that the teacher's background will be more importa[illegible] than family structure in influencing the congruity of expectations of parents and school functionaries for the child.

b) Sample

Community setting

This study will be done in the Lorain, Ohio, public schools. Lorain was selected for study because it is an industrial city with shipworks, steel fabricating plants and a nearby auto assembly plant yet is a small enough community to study in depth. In 1970, Lorain has a population of 78,539; of this 9.3 percent was black and 7.5 percent was Puerto Rican. Public assistance income is received by 16.1 percent of the community's families. Permission to use the Lorain Public Schools as the site of the study has been obtained from the Superintendent.*

There are seventeen elementary schools in Lorain. Kindergarten enrollments vary from 1,400 to 1,700.* As of the 1970 Census, 91.9 percent of the children were in public school kindergartens. It is estimated that approximately 800 of these children will be the first children in their families to be entering school.** Some of the children will have been enrolled in nursery school, day care centers, or kindergarten before entering the first grade. The first grade is selected as the study focus because it is the first full-time family-school socialization setting in which the full force of the school systems expectations is felt.

*Dr. J.F. Calta, Superintendent, Lorain City Schools.

**Estimate furnished by Lorain City Schools. A stratified sample will be drawn based on family structure characteristics, racial and cultural backgrounds.

Sample Selection

The sample will consist of 108 families, approximately 13 percent of all families with the first-born child with kindergarten experience entering the Lorain school system. We will limit our study to two to four schools in order to minimize disturbance to the school system and to reduce costs.

Cultural/Racial Group First Child to Enter School	Class	Nuclear		Single-Parent
		Single Career	Dual Career	
Black	Middle	X	X	X
	Working	X	X	X
Puerto Rican	Middle	X	X	X
	Working	X	X	X
White	Middle	X	X	X
	Working	X	X	X

Our procedure to fill the frame is first to take one classroom as a total universe and "shake" it into the sampling taxonomy. A second, third, fourth, ...x number of classrooms may have to be selected until there are sufficient types to fill all cell categories. Then a random selection of families is made from a pool of cases developed for each cell. The advantages of this procedure is to reduce the number of classes to be observed, teachers to be interviewed, control such extraneous variabls as differential environments and heterogeneous exposure, and to reduce research costs.

Children must enroll for the first grade in the spring of the preceding year. School records indicate whether the child is the first child in his family to be entering the school system. The names and addresses of the children and their families will be obtained from these pre-registration records. During the summer before the children enter the school, all of their mothers will be interviewed.

A 20 percent random sample of fathers (N=22) will also be interviewed to determine if the parents themselves have differences in attitudes toward the school system. Interviewers will be matched to the family by race and language.

The first grade teachers will be given a questionnaire and interviewed soon after the school year begins to determine their expectations and pedagogical goals. Observations will also be made in the classroom to determine the congruity between the teachers' attitudes and behaviors. They will be resurveyed at the end of the first school term to obtain their impressions about the children in their classes.*

The family panel will be re-interviewed after the first school term to determine type and frequency of socialization problems, the questions parents are raising about the school system, and how they are dealing with them.

*To avoid any study produced tendency to "label" the children, the teacher will be asked about all the children in her class; the data on the study children will then be selected for analysis.

This phasing plan is intended to maximize use of available personnel; to collect data systematically at various points in the research year, and to undertake continuous data anlysis and preparation of working papers. The intent is at the end of the research period to feed back into the school system and to parents information which will be useful to participants in their dealing with one another and which will enhance the education and socialization of the child.

c) Data

In determining family-school interaction patterns, five major components of socialization have been selected for study:

1. expectations and aspirations for the child
2. social control
3. leisure patterns
4. health practices
5. skill learning: reading

Attitudes and behaviors relating to these dimensions will be obtained through interviews with the parents and teachers. The aim of these procedures is to provide for these components:

1. a profile of family socialization patterns
2. a profile of the teacher's socialization patterns

In the following section, the five socialization components will be briefly defined. Empirical indicators of the concepts and sample questions will be posed. It should be noted that the sample items are only examples. Since the research is attempting to go beyond present research approaches, in order to study school-family-child socialization patterns, it is anticipated that new items will be developed and some existing items modified for the study purposes. All the items will be pre-tested and for those items newly developed for the study, reliability and validity established.

Using a self-determined and self-enforced code of ethics we will determine during the year the extensity of family and teacher involvement in the design and implementation of the research, the risks of intervention in relation to the life styles of families and schools and to the research process itself; the requisite expectations (rewards) of participants; and the absorptive capabilities of involved parties to be repeatedly and regularly interviewed and observed over a six-year period. The techniques will be informal discussions and a one-day "assessment" meeting of representative family members and school teachers with project staff near the end of the pilot study year.

Socialization Dimensions; definition; indicators.	Examples of Indicators for* Parents	Teachers	Children
1. Expectations and aspirations for the child. What parents and teachers hope for the child in terms of his future occupation, level of education; attitudes toward learning and appropriate schoolroom behaviors. A reality measure is the perception of the child's competence. How do parents and teachers view the social competence of the child? Such perceptions influence the selection of the educational track which in turn limits the occupational options and is a measure of school and family congruity.	What would you hope that Johnny would be able to do when he grows up?	Same question	
	Johnny is -- an excellent -- good -- fair -- poor -- very poor student	Same question	
	Levine-Elzey Preschool Competency Scale A scale to measure actual behavior in basic areas of communication, interaction, relationship to adults, curiosity, responses in learning and frustrating situations	Levine-Elzey Scale	

*These are examples of interview questions; others will be added to the interview schedule.

Socialization Dimensions; definition; indicators.	Examples of Indicators for Parents	Teachers	Children
2. Social Control. The kind of behavior expected of the child; the extent to which the family accepts the legitimacy of the teacher. Dimensions to be studied here include autonomy vs. obedience; cooperation vs. competitiveness; parent vs. teacher authority.	If you had to choose, which of the following would you pick as the most important for a child to learn to prepare him for life: -- to obey -- to be well liked or popular -- to think for himself -- to work hard -- to help others when they need help What comes next? What comes third?(Lenski, 1961)	Same question	
3. Leisure Patterns. What kinds of leisure time activities does the child engage in during "free time" at school and at home; what kinds of activities do the parents engage in with their child in the home and outside.	Have you during the past six months gone with your child to (for) -- a movie -- play, ice show, circus -- visit relatives -- visit friends -- church service -- a museum -- the zoo -- a picnic -- a drive in the car -- a walk, sledding, hiking -- a vacation -- watch TV	What kinds of activities do you recommend that parents do with their children? (see choices)	

Socialization Dimensions; definition; indicators.	Examples of Indicators for Parents	Teachers	Children
4. Health Practices. What kinds of health standards and dietary practices are set for the child.	How important do you think it is for Johnny to wash his hands before meals: -- very important -- important -- somewhat important -- not important How important do you think it is for Johnny to brush his teeth (see choices above)	Same question	
5. Reading. How well does the child read; how important is reading to his family; what kind of support does the family provide him in his efforts to learn to read.	Inventory of preparation for reading; family reading habits; extent to which parents read to the child and the kinds of stories read. Modification of Van Allen (1964).	Modification of the scale	Metropolitan Reading Readiness Score

Other Variables; definitions; indicators.	Examples of Indicators for Parents	Teachers	Children
6. Family Scales	Personal Control Scale: a measure of self concept (Sussman and Slater, 1972); Family Goal Consensus Scale, orders ten values related to family life (Sussman and Slater, 1972); Interpersonal Integration Scale, measures marital tension (Sussman and Slater, 1972).		
7. Background Data	Objective and subjective social class; age, marital status, education; ehtnicity	Similar background data; teacher perceptions of family background	
8. Classroom Interaction: Behavior in Relation to Expectations		Observations to: 1) determine teacher's grouping for instruction. Use of criteria: a) child's verbal capability b) child's interactional behavior c) child's racial/cultural background 2) role consistency in effecting child's expectancy level	

Other Variables; definitions; indicators	Examples of Indicators for Parents	Teachers	Children
9. Patterns of Communications; Conflict and Cooperation Patterns	Open-ended interviews; oral history of experience covering analysis of contacts; response to communications from schools; perceptions of responsiveness of teachers and school officials obtained at time of interview	Similar to parents' protocol, obtained at reinterview	

Some of the proposed instruments are based on middle class norms and values, and some are "class free." This is not detrimental to the study's objectives. Since most school instruction is oriented toward the middle class, these tests will indicate the child's ability to function in a middle class environment. Where special bilingual programs are used in Lorain, the tests will serve as a measure of the success of these programs. The family and self-concept scales are not limited as to class but may indicate class differences in aspirations, integration and role responsibility.

d) Analysis

The analysis will be designed to extract as much information as possible from the data with the aim of generating hypotheses for further testing. Where appropriate and possible, given the small sample size, descriptive statistics will be used.

Qualitative analysis of case history data using a "patterning technique" will also be used.

e) Future research

This pilot is considered Phase 1 of a projected longitudinal study. Phase 2, which will be for a period of six additional years, will involve a second cohort. Those entering school under the same conditions but a year later, 1975, and involving six to eight schools with a panel of 200 families. These in addition to the 100-plus families of the 1974 group will be followed for a period of six years.

While the pilot will concretize the issues to be studied using a longitudinal design the following are a few of central interest to us.

1. Are there sex differences in educational expectations for children? How are these articulated and implemented? What are the patterns according to race, ethnicity, socio-economic status and teacher's perceptions? Are socialization patterns used differentially to exacerbate this difference? Given the thrust towards gender equality in the 1970's, where are the changes in current patterns of socialization for inequality emanating? In the family? In the school?

2. Is there any variation in educational expectations of parents, school and children by grades as they proceed through their course of study?

3. Does variation in family structure, e.g., dual-work family, traditional nuclear family, single-parent family have any effect upon educational expectations of the child from the perspective of parents, children and teachers? If variation from the traditional nuclear family of father, provider and mother, homemaker is perceived as deficient what program efforts are made to "correct" this deficit? What are teacher's perceptions of family styles and consequences for the child's learning and socialization? Do variant family styles stigmatize the child? In this instance does sex of the child make a difference in expectations and socialization practice?

4. As curriculum changes, how are these communicated and what role does the family have in their formation and implementation? What is the responsiveness of families of various forms, ethnicity, etc. to the communication network (structure, type and content of messages, numbers) of the school?

5. School-family relationships have been labeled as "woman's work," at least in reference to the family. To what extent is this label justified? Do the sex, school grade or achievement of a child, family background characteristics, form and socio-economic status make any difference regarding which parent participates in school activities? What are the patterns of participation over time? Does participation by male or female surrogates make a difference in congruity of family and school socialization patterns?

6. The classroom is being increasingly viewed as a unit of analysis; it produces a unique learning environment with all the characteristics of a closed cultural system. The elements of teacher perspectives and competencies and pupil's cultural heritage, readiness, personality characteristics, and prior socialization are mixed into a "black box" and the outcome is a product of synergy. The essential question is whether this "total learning environment" has by itself a unique effect upon the socialization process, perhaps an even greater effect than individual social or psychological characteristics? Is the teacher's particular style of relating and teaching the most important element of this mix? To what extent do pupil characteristics and styles influence the educational outcome? This issue requires use of historical/anthropological methods, observing and mapping such phenomenon over time. The classroom is viewed as a subculture and quantitative analysis of case history material is the most appropriate procedure in order to obtain the necessary data.

f) The Time Schedule, July 1, 1974 - June 30, 1975

Activity	Time (Months) 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Sample Selection	Begin	Complete										
Staffing	Complete	Train										
Instruments	Select and Develop	Pretest										
Data Collection												
108 Mothers	X	Begin	Complete									
22 Fathers	X	X	X	Complete								
Teachers*	X	X	X	Begin	Complete							
108 Mothers (reinterview)	X	X	X	X	X	X	Begin	Complete				
Teachers* (reinterview)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Complete				
Teacher observation	X	X	X	Begin	Complete							
Data Processing		Begin	Continue			Continue			Complete			
Data Analysis		Begin	Continue			Continue				Complete		
Reports		X	X	X	X	X	X	Initial Preparation			Final Report	
One-day meeting on assessment on feasibility of longitudinal study		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Conduct		

*classroom

5. Project Staff

The curriculum vitae of the principal personnel who compose the research team are attached.

Elyse Fleming will serve as co-principal investigator and be responsible for general supervision of the observation phase of project, development and utilization of instruments, data analysis and reporting.

Marvin B. Sussman will serve as co-principal investigator and will provide general coordination of the project through the Institute, be responsible for protocol development, data analysis, reporting and research administration. He will take major responsibility for the study on the feasibility of longitudinal research in this area.

Eugene Bartoo will serve as research associate and be responsible for field training of interviewers and observers, co-ordinate the pretest, collection of data, assist in analysis and reporting.

Ruth G. Mueller will serve as research associate and do assessments of classroom grouping processes, test evaluations, and training of field personnel.

Marie R. Haug will serve as methodological consultant and provide guidance for the analysis and presentation of data.

Research Associate-
Field Director - This person will co-ordinate all data collection and will be located primarily in the field during the study year.

Research Assistants - The principal responsibility of two of these persons is to do the interviewing, make the observations, and work with temporary research staff in the collection of data. The third research assistant will be located in the Institute and work with staff primarily in data processing and analysis.

Secretary - This person will be the project technician, do necessary office work, travel arrangements, appointments, preparation of data, reports, etc.

Professional Qualifications

The interdisciplinary research team is composed of individuals with complementary skills for undertaking this type of field study involving socialization, organizational relationships, behavioral change, learning, family dynamics, and evaluation methods.

Elyse Fleming, Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, has research interests in the areas of gifted children and teacher expectancy as it relates to pupil achievement, especially in inner city urban schools. In addition, she has conducted studies of children's characteristics of rigidity and flexibility.

Marvin B. Sussman, Ph.D., Yale, has done basic research on family systems, socialization, linkage behavior, and professionalization both in the United States and abroad. He has published over 100 articles and books on these subjects.

Eugene Bartoo, Ed.D, S.U.N.Y. at Buffalo, 1972, has ten years of experience in public schooling as a secondary school teacher, department chairman, and Assistant Superintendant for Instruction. His research experiences include a study of the instructional decision-making behavior of elementary teachers under innovative conditions, and a longitudinal, evaluative study of computer-based curriculum planning. Continuing research interests involve curriculum theory building through instructional empiricism and curriculum criticism as evidenced in alternative schools. He is presently an Assistant Professor of Education at CWRU.

Ruth G. Mueller, Ph.D., was graduated with a B.A. with high distinction from the University of Arizona and received both her MA and Ph.D. from CWRU. At Arizona she obtained a teaching minor in Spanish. Special areas of interest and research are the relationship of language to the reading process(Standard English and dialect Speech) and cognitive skills in reading.

Marie R. Haug, Ph.D., received her BA from Vassar and her MA and Ph.D. from Case Western Reserve University, 1968. Present research focuses on factors in occupational choice in later years which affect second career decisions, reorganized systems of delivery of medical care, and the changing nature of the professional/client relationship. Special skills and interests are methodological and statistical research issues.

6. Existing Facilities and Resources

This project is a joint effort of the Department of Education and the Institute on the Family and the Bureaucratic Society of the Department of Sociology. The project will be housed in the Institute where there are facilities, resources and a supportive staff of 20 professionals and technicians. The general aim of the Institute is to examine the changing structure and functions of educational, economic, health, welfare, political and rehabilitation organizations, their inter-relationships and linkages with each other, especially the family unit and family members in the roles of clients and employees. One of the components of the Institute is attention to the problems of delivery of service by educational, medical, welfare, and other types of help systems and the reception and perception of these services by the family. Recently the Institute has undertaken development of studies concerned with behavioral models for population and family planning; women's roles and fertility; family networks and care of the aged; incentives and family environments for the elderly; family systems, population policy planning and research; an aging center proposal.

Currently housed in the Institute are the Rehabilitation Careers Project, Cross-National Research Studies on the Family, National Family Policy Institute Project, the RSA Training Programs Evaluation Project, The Personal (Marriage) Contract Study, and the Marital Continuity Project.

The University has a 65K Univac 1108 with numerous tape drives, plotter, printers, card punches, drum and disk storage. The Univac 1108 is run on an open-shop basis with turn-around time being almost immediate (seldom more than several minutes). IBM unit-record equipment such as key-punches, verifiers, counter/sorters, accounting machines and reproducers are available in the Institute.

7. Financing

We are not seeking funding elsewhere. Through cost sharing the principal project staff are contributing more time to the study which is not covered under the grant request.

8. Dissemination and Utilization Plan

A. Dissemination

1) Results of the study will be made available to parents, teachers and administrators in the Lorain school system. The material will be prepared so as not to create hardships or discriminatory practices, i.e., hassles for those involved. The rights of informed consent, confidentiality and privacy will be protected.

2) Such a report will be distrbuted to:
-public school systems in major urban areas
-ERIC for abstracting
-International Reading Association on availability
-American Association of School Administrators on availability
-National Council on Family Relations on availability

-School Social Workers Division of AASW on availability
-family and school publications: preparation of papers
(partial list)

American Education Research Journal
Harvard Educational Review
Journal of Marriage and the Family
Journal of Child Development
Educational Leadership
Review of Educational Research

3) One-day conference to cover a) critique of findings -- parents and teachers "reply" to report; b) feasibility and model for undertaking longitudinal research.

B. Utilization

The findings of this pilot can be used in:

1. Development of prospecti for longitudinal studies of family/school/socialization issues.

2. Teacher training: in-service and pre-service.

3. Curriculum development

4. Effecting a possible traditionectomy in parent-teacher relationships especially the Parent-Teacher Association.

5. Modifications of existing communication system: messages, evaluations, grading, patterns of information paucity or glut.

6. Estimating the need for intermediaries to improve school-family relationships, e.g., ombudsman, advocates, and "school friends." This has implication for future staff patterning of schools.

7. Sensitizing varied professionals and paraprofessionals such as visiting teachers, social workers, school psychologists, counselors and advisors to expectation and socialization issues and their role in effecting congruity.

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Appendix A

Progress Report, July 1, 1974 - to March 1, 1975

I. Purpose

The school and family are two basic socialization systems for the child. Typical of the linkage between them are varying degrees of discrepant expectations between parents and teachers that can result in ambiguous and conflicting socialization modes and potential victimization of the child. Becoming a pawn in a conflict between two systems with varying goals, normative patterns, and structures usually does not bode well for any individual and can be disastrous for the development of the child's competence, personality and social growth.

The basic problem in this exploratory study is to describe analytically the socialization systems of families and schools in a community with substantial numbers of blacks and whites including Puerto Rican Americans; point to congruity, ambiguity, and difference in family and school socialization patterns and expectations; offer explanations of "why" these differences, indicating factors that influence their form and intensity; explore the impact of school-family experiences upon the socialization patterns of the family and describe techniques used by teachers and expecially parents to "handle" and resolve such school-family discordancies and conflicts. The aim is to develop hypotheses for additional testing.

II. Research aims.

a. To determine if there are differences in educational and life expectations of the school and family for the child. How do the school and family communicate these expectations to one another?

b. To describe how parents react to their children as the latter come under increasing control of the school's socialization system in major areas of role functioning such as behavioral control, health practices, skill acquisition, and leisure uses.

c. To illustrate how parents handle "conflicts" between their own and the school's socialization methods.

A methodological aim was to estimate the feasibility of family-school linkage studies; the possibilities of sustained collaboration over time, loss of families, and the power of biases associated with the longitudinal design, e.g., maturation of subjects. Another important objective was to determine whether change actually occurred from Time 1 to Time 2 and the significance of these changes.

III. Activities for the Period July 1, 1974 to March 1, 1975

A. Sample

Of a possible sixteen elementary schools, nine were chosen from which to select our sample of parents and teachers. Since we know that school size influences interaction patterns with families, we eliminated those schools which

had under 600 students. An additional school was not selected because an ongoing bilingual program might have biased our findings.

Staff members examined pupil registration forms for all students in the selected elementary schools. Information was obtained on the child's rank in the family, parents' birthplace and ethnicity, mother and father's education, place of employment and occupation as well as with whom the child lived (e.g., mother and stepfather). Selected were those children who were entering the first grade and were the first born in their family who met ethnic, social class and family structure criteria. The total potential sample was 269 students.

We were unable to locate a reasonable number of middle-class Spanish-speaking or black Americans and modified our analysis plan accordingly. We concentrated on examining variations which may exist between working-class and middle class families across racial lines and those between intact and non-intact families within the white population.

The study population was obtained by including all potential black and Puerto Rican students and randomly selected white students when the pool for any cell exceeded ten. Specifically, among the white sample, thirteen students (and two "back-ups") were selected from the three working-class cells as well as the middle-class single career cell. The two remaining white cells were chosen in their entirety. The selected sample included 35 blacks, 30 Puerto Ricans and 63 whites for a total N of 128.

For the following reasons the original cell distribution was altered:

10 mothers could not be contacted
21 families moved
6 children would be attending Catholic schools
6 children would be attending schools in Lorain outside of our sample schools
6 families had children older than one attending first grade
17 families changed their status. These families remained in the sample but the cell into which they were placed was changed. (e.g., a single-career family became a dual career; a single parent family married, etc.)
1 mother refused to be interviewed

The following table explains the final sample distribution:

Table 1 Final Sample Distribution N=103

Cultural/Racial Group	Class	Family Structure			Total N
		Intact Family		Single Parent	
		Single Career	Dual Career		
Black N = 26	Working	11	6	8	25
	Middle	1	0	0	1
Puerto Rican N = 21	Working	11	5	4	20
	Middle	1	0	0	1
White N = 56	Working	11	17	10	38
	Middle	11	6	1	18
				Total	103

B. Questionnaire Development

Keeping in mind the original goals outlined in the proposal, the instrument contained many new indicators as well as those tested in other research projects. Three conceptual additions to the original proposal were made and are reflected in the questionnaire:

1. The family's integration into the community is viewed as an important component of their attitudes toward school. The greater the family's attachment to the community, the greater the probability they will agree with school policies.

2. The concept of trust was developed further in the questionnaire. The greater the bond of trust that the family has in the teacher, the greater the probability that congruency in socialization expectations will exist.

3. Each family has a particular theme that characterizes its internal dynamics and interrelationships with other institutions. This theme can be independent of social class and family structure and is a composite of family goals, perceptions, orientations and behaviors. We hope to uncover variations among family themes not only through the closed-ended responses but through our analysis of the more informal open-ended questions.

Because of the potential number of Spanish-speaking respondents, the entire questionnaire was translated into Puerto Rican Spanish. The questionnaire was first translated into Spanish and then retranslated into English, a back translation technique. Whatever differences existed were reconciled between the translators. There were ten respondents with whom the Spanish questionnaire was used.

C. Training of the interviewers

A two-day intensive training session was conducted for the interviewers. Interviewers were then matched to the respondents according to racial and cultural characteristics. In addition, interviewers were bilingual.

A novel technique of having "baby sitting" assistants accompanying the interviewers to take care of underfoot children and related problems was most successful. It figured prominently in the conducting and in obtaining completion of the interviews.

D. Data Collection 1: Interviewing mothers - August, 1974

It was important to complete the interviews before the opening day of school and this was accomplished. Most of the mothers were pleased to discuss things about their children and first grade.

In order to locate those mothers who were not available to the interviewers, the field director in trips to Lorain sought from the post office forwarding addresses. Where possible, emergency numbers given by the mothers on the pupil registration forms were used to find them. Only when we were certain the mother was ineligible did we select replacements.

In general the interviews went smoothly. The excellent cooperation of the school superintendent's office facilitated our search for respondents.

Each mother was asked to sign a permission slip allowing us to inquire about her child's progress in elementary school. Only one mother refused to sign, arguing that her child was in a learning disabilities class and if we wanted any information about her child, we were to contact her directly and she would cooperate. Interestingly, when we reinterviewed this mother, she appeared hurt that we did not inquire with her son's teacher about his progress the way we had with the other children in the study population.

E. Data Collection 2: Phone calls

In order to check the contacts made between the family and the school during the period between the first and second interviews, one-third of the sample was to be called at the beginning of October, November and December. While this process was not included in the original proposal, it was done to better track the mother's responsiveness to the school. Each interviewer was asked to phone the mothers to whom they talked in August. In order to establish some continuity with our families, the same person was to be used to call the mother, interview the father and reinterview the mother. Aside from making the families feel more confortable with the study, we hope to gain some insight into any changes that may have occurred as viewed by the interviewer.

This technique was only partially successful. Mothers were anxious to speak with interviewers but it was difficult to make connections with repeated call backs. In addition, approximately 20% of the respondents did not have phones. Consequently 69 mothers were contacted by phone during this period.

While we believe that the phone call for contact/continuity is useful, there should be a larger return. In using this technique again we will record the phone numbers of relatives or neighbors where respondents might be reached. Also, interviewers will be apprised and instructed in this procedure as part of their total responsibility when hired.

F. Data Collection 3: Father's interview

The plan was to interview fathers in 20 percent of the families; a random selection of 6 black fathers, 6 Puerto Rican fathers and 12 white fathers. Three fathers would be selected from each of the cells among the white sample.

The final sample N for the fathers was 19. Two of the black fathers refused to be interviewed and one black father was out of town on business too often for the interviewer to locate him. One Puerto Rican father and one white father could not be contacted for an interview.

G. Data Collection 4: Teacher's interviews

With the cooperation of the Office of the Director of Elementary Education arrangements were made to interview the teachers of the children in the study population. Of 31 teachers, only one did not have any of the study children in her classroom. The hiring of a substitute teacher for each school allowed the teacher to be interviewed during the regular school day. Since the time for each session was approximately 90 minutes, one interviewer could meet with three teachers per day. The teachers and principals were extremely cooperative, and the Director of Elementary Education for Lorain mentioned the smooth manner in which the interviews were conducted.

It was imperative that we minimize potential "study effects" on the pupils and their families, namely their being selected for special treatment because of being in the study. Therefore, we randomly selected five or six students from each classroom who were not part of our sample. Each teacher was interviewed regarding these study and non-study pupils without indentifying which children were in the study, and in this way we were able to protect the identity and privacy of the study group. Information obtained on those students not part of the study (and for whom we did not have permission slips from their parents) was destroyed. Its only use was to provide us with a tally of responses in order to determine if the teacher had a response set to various questions.

The teachers' questionnaire was divided into five parts:

1. Congruency with mothers and fathers. In our analysis, we will be interested in exploring the degree of congruency between these two sources of child socialization, and the subsequent consequences for the child.

2. Professionalism and professional behavior of the teacher. Many of the items in this group were taken from Ronald Corwin's work on teacher professionalism as well as from a study of rehabilitation counselors at the Institute. Since the professional orientation of a teacher will influence her behavior as well as her perceptions toward her clients, we hope to analyze the teacher's professionalism in combination with her responses to substantive questions as well as her behavior in the classroom (observations - see H.) and her Pupil Control Ideology score (see IV, A).

3. Bureaucratic structure of the school. This section was borrowed from Corwin's work on the Teacher Corps. While we controlled for the size of the school (only those elementary schools with over 600 students were in the sample), the perceived degree of centralization and standardization will influence the character of interaction between the teacher and her students.

4. Teacher philosophy or pedagogy. We used a Q-sort developed by Lawrence Downey in The Task of Public Education: The Perception of People, published by the Midwest Administration Center of the University of Chicago. In this Q-sort, sixteen itmes are divided along four basic dimensions: intellectual, social, personal and productive.

5. Impressions and expectations of students. Each teacher was asked a few questions about the study and "non study" children.

H. Data Collection 5: Classroom observations

Modifying an observation schedule originally developed by Jere E. Brophy and Thomas L. Good, five observers recorded teacher-pupil interactions for a half-day period. As a part of the training session, videotapes were made of a first grade classroom in a Cleveland suburb. The observers recorded the interactions as they saw them on the replays of the tapes. Through this means an inter-rater reliability score was established. This same procedure was done following the observations to gain a post-observation inter-rater reliability score. In both cases, over 90 percent of the time there was agreement on the interaction recordings.

Because of limited costs and time, the observations were not repeated. This is unfortunate because some children were absent and we will not have a record of their classroom behavior. In addition a repeat of two or three observations would increase the validity of the results, a procedure to be considered in the proposed longitudinal study.

I. Data Collection 6: Voting records

During the November, 1974, election the voters of Lorain overwhelmingly defeated a school bond issue. Since we are interested in the development of a relationship between schools and families, we wanted to investigate this defeat further. We have recorded the precinct by precinct vote breakdown on this one issue. We then obtained a map of the Lorain school district with elementary

school boundaries along with a precinct map of Lorain. Tracing the precincts from one map to the other, we were able to establish which precincts were in the various elementary school districts. In most cases there was an overlap and only a few precincts cover more than one school district.

J. Coding

Codebooks have been prepared for the August mother's questionnaire, the father's questionnaire, the phone calls, and the teacher's questionnaire.

All questionnaires will be coded twice by trained coders. In this manner, a reliability check will be readily available since any discrepancies will be reconciled. Currently, the August mother's questionnaire has been double coded and key questions have been reconciled. In addition the teacher's questionnaire has been double coded.

K. Literature review

The review of relevant materials continued during this period with particular attention given to familial resources when confronted by an external institution. In addition, we have examined a variety of papers dealing with schools and their responsiveness to families. Such information will be used to provide theoretical constructs, empirical findings and perspectives for the comparative and longitudinal analysis. Also, since some of our indicators were borrowed from other sources, a comparative analysis will be done, wherever possible.

1. Lorain Journal. A useful and novel addition to our project has been a thorough examination of the major newspaper in Lorain, the Lorain Journal. Articles pertaining not only to schools, but unemployment patterns, and significant social, economic and political issues are being looked at for the entire period of the study. This will provide us with a sense of the community throughout the research stage and should prove useful in the final analysis.

IV. Plans for the next period, March 1 - June 30, 1975

A. Social, behavioral and academic profiles

Each teacher will be asked to rate the social competence as well as the adult dependency of the students in our study and "non study" populations. In addition, she will be asked to make explicit her pedogogical techniques for handling control as well as her beliefs about the importance of reading for elementary children. Relieving the teacher of her classroom responsibilities while the forms are being explained to her and completed should increase the accuracy of her responses. The instruments to be used are:

1. Burton White Social Competency Scale - OCD project #(OCD-CB-193(c1) In addition to obtaining a measure of social competency of pupils from the teacher's perspective, there is the prospect of obtaining a measure of comparability with White's research findings. The teacher will complete the scale for each student.

2. Pupil Control Ideology - This scale was developed by Donald J. Willower and measures the degree to which a teacher uses "custodial" or "humanistic" techniques for classroom control. The responses to this should prove useful when compared to the observations and key questions during the interview.

3. Child Dependence on Adult Scale - Developed by Emanuel Beller, this scale will, in part, measure the adjustment of a first grader to his/her classroom. We would anticipate that the dependent child will experience a more pleasant classroom environment and this will influence the parent's responsiveness to the school. The scale will be completed for each student in the study.

4. Teacher Index of Reading Readiness Factors (Ruth G. Mueller and Ruth H. Zollinger) - The Teacher Index of Reading Readiness Factors presents statements describing nine variables which may influence a child's acquisition of reading skills. The nine variables include; sex, socioeconomic level, mental maturity, dialect speech, knowledge of phonic elements, vocabulary development, syntactical complexity of oral speech, visual perception of graphic patterns and recognition of letters of the alphabet. The statements are arranged in paired comparison format.

B. Coding

During this period, code books are being prepared and coding procedures established for the remaining data collection stages. Similar to other coded questionnaires, each respondent's answers will be double coded and double key punched in order to eliminate errors. Any discrepancies which may exist will be reconciled by the coders.

C. Analysis and Reporting

From March 1 to June 30, 1975, the prime focus is the analysis of the data and the preparation of reports for dissemination to clients and donors.

D. Literature review

Focus will be on literature which will assist in developing a conceptual framework and which will help us to explain what has occurred in Lorain between families and schools.

E. School end meeting

At the end of the school year, we will hold a get-together with all the parents who participated in the study, the teachers, and administrators as well. At this time, a brief statement of our findings and conclusions will be presented and all participants will have an opportunity to discuss them with us. We consider this meeting a vital opportunity to share our research with those interested parties and to involve them further in the planning of the longitudinal study.